UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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Thank God, and Take Courage!

By SYDNEY STRONG

India and England

By HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

The Congregation Speaks

By EDWIN H. WILSON

Trumpets on New Horizons:

By MILDRED FOWLER FIELD
SYLVIA HILL
MARIE FALCONER

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CVI MONDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1930 NUMBER 7

A PRAYER FOR INDIA—AND ALL COUNTRIES!

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

—Rabindranath Tagore.

The arrival in this country of Rabindranath Tagore, India's great poet, and one of the great poets of the modern world, is an occasion of impressive significance. He comes here at a moment when his native land is in the throes of revolt against the British crown. Of this movement for independence, long maturing in the heart of the Indian people, Tagore is one of the most important and influential leaders. He shares with Gandhi that predominance of intellectual and spiritual authority which has united India in aspiration and sacrifice, and lifted the nation to sudden consciousness of its high destiny. Tagore is different from Gandhi—as different as Erasmus was different from Luther. He is no politician; he could not touch the great masses of the people, and rally them to revolution; he would not have marched to Dandi, and sought arrest and imprisonment in an English jail. Tagore does other things which Gandhi cannot do. He distills the spiritual genius of his people in a literature which has won the attention and reverence of all the world. He sings songs of love and liberty which find their way into the hearts of even the lowliest of Indians, and conjure there the dreams of a free and happy land. He roots deep in his native soil a system of higher education destined to produce teachers who, in due course of time, will turn the illiteracy of the Indian masses into culture and enlightenment. Today, in his world tour, he moves from country to country, an exalted symbol of India's integrity of soul, and an eloquent ambassador of her cause of freedom. When Washington was languishing at Valley Forge, Benjamin Franklin crossed the seas to Paris on a mission of goodwill to France. Franklin's work, quite as much as Washington's, won independence for America. So, while Gandhi lies in his prison cell at home, Rabindranath Tagore journeys in his old age to England, Russia, France, and the United States. What can the noble presence of this man not do to win sympathy and support for his hard-pressed countrymen!

In office it (the British Labor Party) has been fully as 'Imperialistic' as the Conservatives whom it used to denounce. In domestic legislation it has followed so closely in the old ways as to make its course almost indistinguishable from that of preceding governments. After more than a year in power the Labor Party has made Socialism in England look more than ever like a policy solely on paper and never to be carried into execution even by a Socialist Government.

This editorial statement by no less a journal than the New York *Times* constitutes the perfect indictment of Premier MacDonald and the British Labor Party. The *Times,* of course, rejoices, as do reactionaries everywhere, that Socialists, once they obtain office, can do no better than follow in the blood-stained path of Tories. But liberals the world around, beginning at Westminster itself in the ranks of MacDonald's own party, are saddened, or demoralized, or in angry revolt against this betrayal of its own ideals by an administration with the fairest promise of achievement that modern times have known. Of course, in the present lamentable policies of the Labor Party there is no such blindness, stupidity, sheer cruelty as actuate a Tory cabinet. In the matter of India, for example, Mr. MacDonald has said that he is "cut to the heart," and we may well believe this to be true in the case of a man known to be deeply sensitive to human woes. What ails the Laborites, and particularly their leader, is weakness—that weakness which has characterized the liberal forces of Britain ever since the passing of the splendid days of Gladstone. "Wait and see" was said to be the watchword of Mr. Asquith when prime minister, and the same seems to be serving his successor, Mr. MacDonald. In all great crises the Laborite seems content to wait upon events instead of mastering events by swift, heroic action. In Palestine, in India, in the unemployment tragedy at home, the Premier waits to see what may happen, in the prayerful expectation, apparently, that what will happen eventually will solve the problems concerned. Meanwhile government must be carried on, and it is carried on in the good old way. This kind of policy

seems to succeed for a time, at the expense of most principles and of all ideals. But inevitably there comes a day of reckoning. In Asquith's case that day was the World War. In MacDonald's case it may well be the collapse of the British Empire.

These South American revolutions—the latest in Brazil!—have a dreadful air of unreality about them. Lives are being taken, property destroyed, battles fought, yet it seems impossible to take the events with any seriousness. Especially when one sees a picture of "the new government" in Ecuador, or Argentina, or what not, and notes an unbroken line of generals and colonels with gaudy uniforms and inflated chests! It's all too much like comic opera. What we have, of course, in these outbreaks is militarism at its silliest and therefore at its worst. From the beginning of time this war and army business has been at bottom only a joke—always an expensive joke, frequently a grisly joke—but none the less a *joke!* And we see it in its naked and therefore hilarious outlines in South American revolutions. Turn a lot of ambitious generals loose among an ignorant and excitable populace, and the upsets which have been occurring lately on both sides of the Andes are inevitable! Yet there must be other and deeper causes at work as well. The development of capitalism, with its customary exploitation of natural resources and native labor, is in these days reaching vast proportions to the south of us, and results are following in true relation of cause and effect. With commercial depression running around the world, a long-suffering people are rising up against their oppressors and supporting any man or policy which promises a change. There will be no change, of course. So long as the economic system remains the same, governments may come and go without effect. But feelings are relieved, tension relaxed, and incidentally perhaps, some education gained. The real significance of these South American revolutions is to be found in their symptomatic disclosure of the confusion and distress now universal in our western world. How much longer is our society, plundered by exploitation, burdened with militarism, racked with war—how much longer, dear friends, is it going to be able to hold together?

The political situation in New York City is going from bad to worse. Judgeships have evidently been a matter of "buy and sell" for years, and signs multiply that the Tammany regime of the present "boss," John F. Curry, is a legitimate successor to the classic regimes of Tweed and Croker. Governor Roosevelt, Democrat, is trying hard to consort with thieves without losing his own reputation as an honest man and courageous official. Mr. Tuttle, Republican candidate for governor, is trying desperately to make political capital out of the unfolding tale of corruption. But it is doubtful if any great work of reform gets under way. A few of the rascals are being driven out, mostly the willing or unwilling victims of the Tammany pawn-shop. But the citizens are apathetic, and it will be a surprise if the sources of corruption are uncovered and purified. It is amazing, when one comes to think of it, how complacently the citizens of our great municipalities pass over the control of their communities to the professional politicians. The immense size of the cities, of course, have much to do with this. When millions of men and women are gathered in one place, a certain feeling of helplessness overtakes the single individual, and he attempts to perform no such civic duties in the great metropolis as he would in the small town. More serious, however, is the absorption of the private citizen in his own private affairs. Everybody in New York is busy making money or spending money. The people are relieved, rather than otherwise, that there are politicians at hand who are willing to take over the city for what they can make out of it. But this way disaster lies! Listen to Plato in the "Laws":

> As a ship sailing on the sea has to be watched night and day, in like manner a city also is sailing on a sea of politics, and is liable to all sorts of insidious assaults; and therefore from morning to night, and from night to morning, rulers must join hands with rulers, and watchers with watchers . . . in perpetual succession.

The late convention of the American Legion in Boston seems to have been the usual kind of wild and drunken debauch that has disgraced this organization on earlier occasions. Curious how militarism degrades everybody and everything it touches! "I saw more drunken men in the streets of Boston," writes our editorial colleague, Raymond H. Palmer, "in a few hours than I have seen anywhere in the past five years. I heard women insulted. Added to what I saw with my own eyes are numerous accounts from other eye-witnesses of conduct which ought to bring forth an apology from the organization which brought these rowdies to the city." One such account appeared in the Chicago *Tribune* (of all places!) and read in part as follows:

> Automobiles were tipped over and jounced until their springs broke. Never have the local hospitals and the numerous emergency first-aid stations been faced with so many types of accidents. Patients were treated for the following: Mental excitement, hit by flask, tripped on flask, sat on flask and fell on flask; hit by electric light bulb, fell off soap box, fell down stairs, kicked in back, collapse from hunger, stomach ache after eating, blistered feet, twisted ankles, alleged assault, and cinder in eye. . . .
>
> Celebrators who were able to get their hats on only with the aid of a shoe horn this morning were well cared for by drug stores, hospitals, and emergency stations up to 2 a. m. At that time the Massachusetts general hospital, which had been supplying first aid stations, ran out of its supply of individual doses of bromides, so big heads got bigger. . . .
>
> Volstead seemed to be entirely forgotten. Crap games on Boston common and in the brightly lighted lobbies of hotels, bottles sold, opened, and their contents drunk openly on the

sidewalk, and various examples of petty vandalism followed the carnival. . . . Speakeasy doors were flung open wide to resemble old time saloons. . . . It was a night 'on leave' for the boys who once occupied the front line trenches in a ghastly, dirty business called war.

The week following the convention we saw a moving picture of the Boston parade, of which the central feature was a gang of uniformed hoodlums yelling at the top of their lungs, "We want beer! *We want beer!*" It was to this gathering of Legionnaires that President Hoover talked on the importance of law enforcement; and it was of this same gathering that Calvin Coolidge was prompted to say, "As the veterans grow older their meetings have less of the aspect of a frolic of exuberant youth and become more the serious affair of mature and thoughtful men." About as near as Mr. Coolidge gets to the heart of any question! The fact is, as the Chicago *Tribune* naively confesses, the war was "dirty business" and the "dirty business" is still with us in the organized practices of the Legion which the war has left behind. If there is any better argument against war than the American Legion itself, we do not happen to know what it is.

Ten years of woman suffrage! What has it accomplished? Nothing much, so far as we can see. The government of city, state and nation looks just about the same today as ever. Political corruption is as rife, legal justice as imperfect, public schools as inefficient. Even Prohibition seems to be getting no very impressive support from women as such; and while the peace cause rallies certain devoted individuals and groups, it sweeps on to no dramatic triumph under the impulsion of female sentiment. "Ten years of woman suffrage," says the New York *Times*, "have been disappointing to many ardent believers in it." But why, if not because hopes and expectations of what woman suffrage was going to do were raised beyond all reason in the fervor of the old campaign? There never was any basis for the argument that women, once given the vote, would promptly solve all problems and remove all ills in the body politic. For it is simply the silliest kind of sentimentalism to believe that women are any wiser, any more virtuous, any more public-spirited than men. Human nature is at bottom the same on both sides of the sex line, just as it is the same on both sides of the color line and of the national frontier. Men and women act and react alike under the same influences of education, environment, and economic interest. Woman suffrage doubled the number of votes cast, but left their due proportion in character and worth unchanged. But this is no argument against woman suffrage! The greatness of the cause and the justice of the decision enacting the 19th Amendment are as true today as ever. Whatever the disappointments of the decade, nobody urges the repeal of the Amendment. For "votes for women" is a matter not of expediency but of right. To give votes to men and to deny them to women is tyranny. The triumph for woman suffrage marked the emancipation from bondage of millions of human beings. That the liberty thus beneficiently gained is being used to no very startling result is nothing surprising. Human beings have a right to be free even though they be foolish.

Thank God, and Take Courage!

There are at least two openings for us all the time—one is to curse God and die, the other is to thank God and take courage!

We are apt to forget our classic examples. One is the picture of a small bare-foot Jew, on the Appian Way, traveling up to Rome—the ancient world's London. He was a prisoner, chained to a soldier. At a wayside inn he met a few friends, and he thanked God and took courage. A short time afterwards, he died in the imperial city, a martyr. No matter, he walked as seeing him who is invisible, and in a few centuries, the Roman Empire was decaying, while great buildings and monuments were going up named after him, "Paul" and after his friend "Peter." There is no situation in which one should not be able to thank God, and take courage.

Gandhi reminds one of Paul. Both are Eternal Power in bare-feet. Both have the solution for the dissolution of Empire and the overthrow of oppression; namely the power of love and non-violence. Both in jail. Both glorying in their tribulations. Both possessing the peace of God, and unconquerable.

Marx reminds one of Paul. East London was responsible for Marx. If people want to defeat Marxism, they must abolish East Londons. In the midst of the squalor and crime of East London, Marx, breathing the spirit of the Hebrew Scriptures, in which as a child he was brought up, sent out to mankind visions of a world free from poverty and vice; wrote down plans for a new society where men should be brothers. These visions have caught the imagination of mankind, and under the spell of the vision, they are taking fresh courage. This was while he was in the "prison" of East London. In the same way from prison, Paul sent forth manifestoes, whose truth has rocked empires, and given countless ones courage.

In the light of Paul and Gandhi and Marx, there is no "prison" condition which forbids one thanking God, and taking courage. No matter how bad the world or life may be or seem to be, a Paul, a Marx,

a Gandhi is on the Appian Way. East London will produce a Marx, and India its Gandhi, and America its Lincoln.

There are many sour souls, however, who refuse to walk by faith, but demand sight. They want to be shown. Very well. Here is a decalogue of gains since Columbus' voyage of discovery—on whose "Day" these words are written, and suggested by the Celebration. Interestingly, only the day before came the story of an air-ship named "Columbia," reaching the main land, about as Columbus reached America. Gains, over which we should thank God, and take courage are:

1. Gain in transportation. Man now is conquering the air—a gain in progress, everyway. The great blessings travel fast—for example, light. Angels are equipped with wings of light! Man has advanced in civilization as he has quickened his pace. Since Columbus' day, behold the railroad, the telegraph, the wireless. Speed links man with eternal agencies. Thank God, and take courage.

2. Human life is longer, and safer. Babies live longer. Adults live longer. One can in this day live for 90 years, and travel about the world night and day from top to bottom, from Cape Town to Tokyo, never even see an accident, or be molested, nor even have his pocket picked. A woman may go everywhere and never be insulted, except she may invite it. Thank God, and take courage.

3. Woman today is the equal to man, or is on the road. See Turkey, Russia, China, all Europe, and especially America. No greater race gain perhaps is registered than the change in the status of women. Not only are veils being stripped off, but the women are standing up and looking men straight in the eyes and saying, "No more superiority bunk!" This is now being accepted as a cardinal plank of the new social order. Thank God, and take courage.

4. Equality of men. Not quite here, but speeding along on the wings of light. Good men are now praying, "We thank God that we are as other men!" This idea is in the line of truth. So much so, that good men like Hubert Herring in his Seminars (the next one invades the Southland for 11 days, for sympathetic study of racial situations. Starts Nov. 11th. Write 112 E. 19th N. Y. C.) and Clarence Howells in his Reconciliation Trips and Sherwood Eddy with his well known Study Tours—such are signs of the dawning of a day of human equality. Thank God, and take courage.

5. The sovereignty of the people. When Columbus sailed away, the divine right of priests and kings was unquestioned. The keys of heaven and earth were held in the hands of either a priest or the king's sheriff. One couldn't be born right, nor buried right, without approval of these divine authorities. Sometimes the kings and bishops quarreled—which was to the advantage of the people. That doctrine has been hit so hard, that there is no hope of its resurrection. When Columbus sailed away, little did Queen Isabella imagine that the land to be discovered would be the stage where the sovereignty of the people would be dominant. A great gain. Thank God, and take courage.

6. The authority of conscience in matters of personal thinking and conduct. This doctrine, on a large scale, was not thought of when Columbus sailed. In the German Reformation, with Luther, and the other Reformations with Calvin, Knox and John Robinson—this idea of the freedom of the soul in the sight of God began to assert itself. Especially, in America and New England did conscience take the place of authority, and there came up such men as the Quakers, Jonathan Edwards, and later Thoreau, and Parker, who preached the right of conscience. There is no greater spiritual gain, when it is practiced. In America, it is suffering a temporary eclipse. Even so, let us thank God, and take courage.

7. Democracy. This is not a thing to be joked about. It is equality put into practice, in government. It explains all that is distinctive in the life of America which has blossomed into free institutions, like free common schools (perhaps the greatest glory of nations that possess them), free libraries, peoples' playgrounds and parks—no longer preserves of kings and priests—and also free churches, democratically created and managed, anyone who travels over our broad land—and other democracies—and sees the schools, churches, other institutions of the people—will thank God and take courage.

8. Belief in racial unity. A great gain. This idea takes us straight back to the Garden of Eden theory of the oneness of mankind, which was later destroyed by the Tower of Babel scatteration idea. Man is returning by the hard road of realism to his early idealism—a not uncommon experience with individuals. Columbus gave the notion of unity a great push when he settled the fact of the rotundity of the earth. Racial, national divisions from that day began to fall away. The evidence of their going and of the establishment of unity of man and of earth is almost all in! Thank God, and take courage. A great gain has come to us.

9. A new missionary conception. There has always been a tendency to joke over the missionaries. It is well to observe that those who are scornful are well described as "sitting." A missionary, as a matter of fact, is ordinarily, the highest expression of life, being coupled with a strong desire, to the point of sacrifice, to carry the best one has to another, for his good. Practically all the benefits of life are distributed in this way, so much so, that it has become

a truism that an enterprise that is not missionary will soon die. Of course, it is on the kind of missionary that we have a right to pass in judgment. A modern kind of missionary is described in the *World Tomorrow,* October, in Albert Schweitzer who went to Africa—why?—this, because of the guilt that rested on his soul for the crimes committed by his race and nation upon Africa. He went to try to pay back the debt he owed. He went in expiation, in atonement. That's a real saviour. What a gain in the conception of human relations. If Americans—every time they met Japanese, Chinese, Russians, Indians, Mexicans—would first show sorrow in expiation for the injuries done these brother men—what a world!

10. A great gain is this, that man is discovering that the heart of the universe is ethical and spiritual, that the Sermon on the Mount is the natural constitution of the right social order. This day seems to be a long way off, but there are many signs of the Coming Day. One is the signing of the Peace Pact, when the nations solemnly outlawed war, and agreed to use only peaceful methods in settling disputes. It may prove to be not all that is desired, but it was like a shaft of divine light that illuminated the sky, and men will never be able to get away from it and its dominance, any more than America can get away from the Declaration of Independence. The Golden Rule is freely admitted, at least in theory, as essential to social salvation. So it will prove to be in fact.

This is not a world in which to curse God and die, but a world—the earth is full of His glory—to thank God and take courage.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Jottings

Our friend, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, sends us the following:

Teacher: "Johnny, what is the difference between a battle and a massacre?"

Johnny: "A battle is where a whole lot of whites kill a few Indians, and a massacre is where a whole lot of Indians kill a few whites."

We read that "the first colored talkie picture by and for colored people has been produced in Hollywood." Alas, we had thought better of our Negro friends than this!

Lord Rothermere, writing in the London *Daily Mail,* declares that "at least four shillings in the pound of the income of every man and woman in Britain is drawn directly or indirectly from the connection which England has with India." Do we wonder that England does not want this connection with India broken, and is ready to do any amount of murder to hold it fast?

The American Legion is now proposing to drop the phrase, "100 per cent Americanism," and use instead, "pure Americanism." This means, we suppose, "99.44 per cent pure!"

Forty-seven out of forty-eight Republican district leaders in Philadelphia have bolted the regular Republican nominee for governor, Gifford Pinchot, and have come out in support of the regular Democratic nominee. Thus once again are we taught the fundamental difference between the two old parties!

It's a pity, when times are so bad, that the business in judgeships in New York should be so depressed by political invstigators, and one judge after another thrown out of work.

J. H. H.

Black Brother

[*Dedicated to Julius Rosenwald. During the Drive for Chicago Provident Hospital, December,* 1929.]

Black Brother, I have taught myself to see
Beyond your color; yet I ache to be
As loving now as when a child I played
With dark-skinned comrades and gay friendships made.

Why comes this fear upon my wondering?
Forgive my failures and my floundering.
Hold up my faith that men may brothers be,
And that which comes to you must come to me.

Germs know no color line, the Doctors tell,
And fright with pictures of infection's hell.
Yet deeper than the skin the meaning goes;
The shrunken soul the pain of shriveling knows.

How can I find full life, no god deny?
How reach the heights, untrammeled by a lie?
How feel love's glow, with beauty be akin?—
The price, Black Brother, is to let you in.

LOUISE LOEB HAMBURGER

As It Was in the Beginning

New ages throb with new phenomenon:
Huge apoplectic veins of tempered steel
Stand out upon a mighty amazon;
Above her giant causeways climb and reel;
While over all great bloated birds obstruct
The sky. Her accents mock the startled miles.
Earth is transformed to one vast viaduct
Through which the modern caravan defiles.

Yet changeless human passions do not rust;
Still rulers pillage in the name of law;
Still humans heed the call of carnal lust,
And murder masquerades in guise of war.
Reformers' rhetoric may flex and boom,
The play proceeds until the crack of doom.

DAISY ARNOLD MAUDE.

The Voice of God

I sought to hear the voice of God,
And climbed the topmost steeple.
But God declared: "Go down again,
I dwell among the people."

LOUIS I. NEWMAN.

India and England

A crisis of world-wide significance has been reached in Indo-British relations. The present Civil Disobedience movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi and the Round Table Conference project initiated by J. Ramsay MacDonald, are of interest to the whole world; because the issues at stake are neither solely Indian nor solely English—they deal with the problem of peace in India and the East; with the problem of the saving of Indian and Eastern culture from the ravages of an outlandish war-oriented western civilization; with the problem of peaceful commercial and cultural intercourse between India and the rest of the world; with the transformation of the British Empire into a British Commonwealth of Nations.

On the one hand 90 per cent of the population of India is mobilizing all its energies and resources to win freedom by civil resistance; on the other hand the British government is making frantic efforts to evolve a constitution for India with the aid of six and six times ten Indians who represent a negligible fraction of the population. The All-India National Congress has refused to be represented at the forthcoming Round Table Conference in London for reasons which will soon be stated. Deduct the twelve representatives from Indian States and you have left about forty or fifty Indian-complexioned gentlemen "representing" less than one-tenth of one per cent of the population of India.

The dues-paying membership of the Congress amounts to over three million; the dues-paying membership of the National Liberal Federation, the second largest all-India national organization, is about ten thousand. The Congress following is nation-wide, amounting to over 300 million; the following of the Liberal Federation does not amount to over 10,000 besides its own paying members. Sectarian organizations such as the Muslim League, the Sikh League, the Non-Brahmin Federation, the Hindu Mahasabha, have *per se no locus standi* in the present political turmoil in India: they have all become welded as organic parts of the Congress movement.

It is the fashion for certain interested parties to suggest that the present movement is a Hindu movement, not a national movement. Such a statement is given the lie direct by the facts in the situation. In his march to the seacoast, Gandhi's party contained two Mohammedans, two so-called untouchables, one Christian, the remainder being Hindus of high and low caste. Gandhi's second in command was Abbas Tyabji, a Muslim, the venerable retired Chief Justice of the High Court of Baroda (now in prison). The one whom Gandhi blessed and entrusted with the task of leading the civil resistance movement in Bombay was a Parsee young man (now in prison). Nor is this all. The temper of the country has been steadily changing since the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, an all-India representative body of Muslin divines, passed a resolution in May, two days after the Mahatma's arrest, exhorting all Muslin Indians to participate in the Congress civil disobedience campaign for freedom. In June the Parsees, noted for their wealth, influence and "loyalty," rallied *en masse* to the Congress Flag. In July the Christians of India resolved to participate in the Congress movement. In August the Jews of India declared their adherence to the Congress platform. Is further proof needed to establish that the present movement is genuinely Indian and National, and not sectarian?

Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Wedgewood Benn are fully apprized of these facts. And yet, true to the English tradition of "muddling through," Mr. MacDonald and his government—oh! I forget, one speaks of His Majesty's Government—are persuading themselves into believing that somehow they will "arrive" at some solution of the Indian question even though the Congress has flatly refused to participate in the Round Table Conference.

Why has the Congress refused to attend the London Conference? Neutral sympathizers of India are justified in believing, tentatively, that Ghandi and the Congress are acting as a hindrance to India's attainment of Swaraj. I advisedly use the term "tentatively"; it also shows how effectively the minds of neutrals are inoculated with British "dope" beforehand.

I am not going to defend the Congress policy. I shall merely reveal the true nature of the forthcoming Conference. A full realization of the real nature of the Round Table Conference in London will, I am sure, elicit from sympathetic neutrals the remark: "If that be the case, leaders in whose keeping is the destiny of a great people are justified in not running after a mirage and in not humiliating themselves and their country."

The Simon Commission was most successfully boycotted throughout India. That its report and recommendations would also be boycotted was a foregone conclusion. And then it turned out that not even the Moderates, the Liberals, nor the Muslims had a good word to say for the recommendations of the Simon Seven. Promptly it was announced that there would be a conference—a "free" conference—of Indians and Englishmen to consider afresh the whole problem of India, without being limited to but "greatly assisted and guided" by the Simon Report. That was step number one in the impending Conference.

Step number two. The Viceroy in consultation with his English advisers devises a scheme for the representation of India at the Conference. You might imagine that the Mother of Parliaments who is so solicitous to develop representative institutions in India, would invite all the important parties in the country to send each its own allotted number of delegates to the Conference. Nothing doing! The Viceroy shall invite those gentlemen who *he thinks* represent each of the diverse parties or interests—this is done, we are told, with a view to insuring the representation of minorities. In concrete terms it works out in the following fashion: Mr. Saukat Ali, one-time leader of the Muslims of India and of the nationalist movement, is today *persona non grata* with the Muslims and the Muslim League; but he happens to be *persona grata* with the government. Lord Irwin is pleased to invite Mr. Saukat Ali to represent the point of view of the Muslims of India!

Step number three. The Viceroy makes frantic efforts for peace with Mahatma Gandhi behind prison bars through two misguided Indians who act as the alien government's errand boys. Gandhi insists on an assurance being given that the Round Table Confer-

ence shall have as its task the devising of a constitution which shall give India "the substance of Independence" immediately. The Viceroy is adamant in his position that the Conference shall be "free"—that is to say, free to perpetuate Britain's stranglehold upon India yet a while longer. The Congress refuses to participate in that Conference.

Step number four. The Viceroy "invites" sixty odd persons to the Conference as representatives of certain interests in India.

Step number five. Maharajahs in gorgeous panoply, self-seeking politicians, sycophants of the foreign government, well-meaning but deluded persons—these gather together at a table which is actually "square," not round, and meet with Great Britain's representatives drawn from all parties.

Step number six. The Prime Minister's speech to the "distinguished" representatives assembled together. Below are given some excerpts:

Gentlemen, we were just discussing this problem of India at the Imperial Conference. And I am happy to announce that His Majesty's Dominions are perfectly willing to share with the Mother Country the great responsibility of governing India and the reasonable profits derived from that selfless task. . . . This galaxy of great people is not to be met with twice in this life at one place. I see before me Princes and Potentates, each with his own difficulties and problems; Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees, Christians, Jews, Buddhists, untouchables, Brahmins, etc. I regret the absence of the Congress party. But in the scheme of divine dispensation in which we all believe, it is as well that the Congress is denied representation owing to its foolhardy and subversive course of action. By its consuming passion for national unity, the Congress would have surely reconciled your differences and thereby denied us the opportunity of examining the various "conflicting" interests which it is our great mission to safeguard. We are gathered together to discover—"to create," shouts someone—problems with a view to adjusting them. I make bold to say that an overstatement of each particularistic interest will do us little harm: in fact, it may do us good. Remember, gentlemen, there can be no retracing of steps from the path we chalk out for ourselves at this conference.

By balancing the various conflicting interests and points of view against one another we shall be able to arrive at a common measure of agreement. This greatest measure of agreement shall be arrived at, not by majority voting (which we have found so inadequate in our parliamentary procedure) but by the influence of mind on mind.

Gentlemen, I would ask what fairer method could be devised for this than one by which all the various points of view can be sifted in discussion and where, not by majority voting but by the influence of mind on mind in daily personal contact a sustained attempt can be made to discover once for all the more excellent way in which Great Britain and India to the benefit of each other can walk together. (This ponderous sentence is actually culled from the Viceroy's address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla on July 9, 1930.)

Let there be no misunderstanding. We are not assembled to draft a constitution for India, nor are we here to devise ways and means to put into operation a Swaraj constitution. This is a free conference. We start with no preconceived notions or theories. Our task is nothing less than to arrive at the greatest measure of agreement by "the more excellent" method I just outlined. Once the common measure of agreement is arrived at, your task is done. "We shall accept that common measure of agreement as our basis for the new proposals regarding India's future constitution which will be placed before Parliament." Two things we must ever keep in mind: in the first place, the final responsibility and authority for the governance of India rests with the British Parliament; in the second place, four shillings in the pound of every Englishman's income is, as Lord Rothermere has pointed out, derived from our connection with India.

Gentlemen, I now declare the Conference adjourned for the day.

Step number seven. On the average twice a week for four months the conference hall resounds with brayings and brawlings. At last a common measure of agreement is arrived at.

Step number eight. In March the All-India Constitution Act of 1931 based upon the greatest measure of agreement is to be introduced in the House of Commons. . . . But I am anticipating something which will not and cannot happen in this fashion. For, by March, 1931, the campaign for the non-payment of taxes would have progressed so vigorously as to paralyze government all over India, particularly in the Bombay Presidency. The future constitution of India will be forged not in London but on the quiet seabeach of Dandi where the Mahatma launched the present campaign of Civil Resistance by violating the Salt Act.

HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR.

The Congregation Speaks

In preparation for the Rally Sunday which precedes the annual meeting in the church to which he ministers, the writer sent out a questionnaire to its members with the following statement: "Our Rally Sunday and our Annual meeting are to be times of spiritual and administrative stock-taking and renewal. Your minister desires an expression of opinion from you at this time to make this renewal more effective. It is intended to give the widest possible range for constructive suggestions and expression and at the same time furnish some specific information needed for our work. *Qualify any answer.* All questions optional. Here is the time and place for frank criticism. Use additional sheets if needed."

The endeavor was to stimulate a creative expression upon the part of the members concerning their basic notions of the nature of free religion, the needs of the religious liberal, and the best means of meeting those needs. It is probable that in some instances the questions were thought through for the first time in order to answer the paper. Hence answers are not to be interpreted as dogmatic or final. They show, merely, the kind of response that a thinking congregation made to the questions at that time.

At the time the questionnaire was sent out, moreover, a new educational program was well under way in the church with lectures by scientists from nearby colleges being conducted each Sunday evening. The

church is twenty years old, small, without an organ or resource adequate for its musical needs, and has had a frequent change of ministers, among whom there have been theists, pantheists, and humanists. Thirty-five replies were received with many blanks left in the replies.

Two types of questions were asked, first three general questions intended to bring out as diverse and rich an expression as possible were asked. A series of propositions affirming basic notions of religious liberalism to be called "True" or "False" followed and finally a series of "yes" and "no" questions regarding aspects of the church service and sermons, chiefly of local significance, were listed. We shall take these answers up in order.

I.

What, ideally speaking, do you think should be the place of religion in life?

One thing can be said of almost all of the answers to this question, that they are free from that conception of religion which distinguishes between the secular and the divine. The ethical stress is obvious throughout and no line is drawn around the church to separate it from daily duties and living. Such answers as the following show this: The place of religion is "every day outside of a church building." "Everyday living."

The ethical emphasis sometimes indicated that religion was thought of as chiefly concerned with personal adjustments and in other cases both individual and social living were mentioned.

"Religion should give unity, purpose, and courage to carry on."

"It should fill one's life with aspiration for the best for all. It should be life itself for both the dreamer and the practical one."

"Religion should lead to an active control of life in accordance with the highest ideals."

"Religion should entirely prevade one's life and guide his thoughts and actions."

"Religion should function as interpreter, critic, and guide."

"It should be a guide to higher purposes in life."

"It should give inspiration to enable one to live a better life and to further the progress of mankind."

"Religion should make us better every day in every way—kinder in thought and deed—less selfish."

"It should be a philosophy of living which would help that individual to be an asset to the community to the end that he leave some lasting contribution to the benefit or progress of the community or society."

"Its place is to inspire for a better life."

"It is a working code of action."

"Religion should offer an inspiration toward the moral improvement of the individual and society at large."

That the function of religion is in part to increase tolerance was indicated by two replies:

"Religion should make life fuller by a broader outlook and more sympathy for other beliefs."

"Its place is to build character, prompt love for truth, loyalty, justice, tolerance; to enable us to live better and more useful lives."

That the function of religion is to furnish emotional response was indicated by several:

"Religion should yield encouragement when we are downhearted, comfort in sorrow, added joy in our happiness."

"Its place is to guide to right relations with our fellowmen and to comfort in time of adversity."

That religion is the inclusive and integrating category was implied repeatedly:

"Religion is one's attitude toward life with one's fellowmen which implies as well action with regard to its multiplicity of problems."

"It should have first place."

"Religion is an adjustment towards the universe."

"I think religion is, as Joseph F. Newton says, 'The unifying spirit of life.' One's religion is one's basis for behavior since it is the belief upon which one forms one's criterion of value."

A few other answers do not fit into this general unity of outlook which can be noted. For instance one reply says: "Religion as the sociologist defines it, I think, has *no place* in the most effective and full living on the part of people of intelligence and education." This member adds: "I define religion as 'belief in supernatural beings.'" Our only comment here would be that the sociologists whose opinion is invoked as authority have apparently a more limited basis for their conclusion than that of many men engaged exclusively in the religious sciences who, like Professors Haydon, Ames, Loisy and others, have made exhaustive studies amongst the materials of religion and who would agree substantially that the educated and intelligent life *is religious*. It is religious in the sense that it is a group quest for the ideal or the good life.

There are several former Quakers in the congregation. One sees their viewpoint in the notion of religion expressed in the following answer to this first question:

"Religion should vitalize every activity of life; make stars and atoms and all living things into glories for a knowledge of which we hunger and thirst; make doing good as far as we are able to know it the only possible course in life; give us the power to see in every man the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world and show us the way how to make this light shine brighter in ourselves and in others."

Another member answers this question and the next two in one fully worked out affirmation which we give as a whole: "What is the place, ideally speaking, of religion in life?"

"Steadfastly to keep before man the ideal of the sublime manhood he may attain in this world.

"To impart a faith that doubts not the evolving God-like destiny of man, but realizes that that destiny is not a gift but must be earned.

"To open the door of our consciousness to that diviner part of our nature, where peace is; where in hours of need we may find refuge from our weakness and from the sordid details of our daily life, and where we may acquire new strength to go on.

"To teach us to inspirit our everyday tasks with a devotion that makes them pleasures.

"To breathe into flame the love of mankind that glows, though perhaps hidden, deep in the heart of each of us, that it may warm not only our own lives but the lives of all about us.

"To awaken in us the spirit of willing self-discipline that brings soul-growth and the joy that comes from serving others.

"To help us to realize that the world today is what men have made it and can be what man wills to make it; that each of us, by his thoughts and acts, is either helping onward or hindering the evolution of humanity; that each of us, in his own place, in his own way, in his own degree, is either a 'christ' or 'satan.'

"To guide the kinetics of today into channels (spiritual, moral, physical) that lead to a realization of the highest ideals of our own vision and of all the inspired seers who have gone before.

"To welcome science, not as another 'Only Begotten Son of God,' but as an interpreter; or a John the Baptist, who may still be crying in the wilderness of facts, but who shall yet baptize many in the name of truth.

"The place of religion is in all departments of life. To attain its full measure it must satisfy man's highest aspirations (mystical or realistic), his reason (intellectual demands), his emotional needs (hunger for beauty in all its forms), and his sense of fitness in his personal contacts. Obviously no prescribed philosophy of religion (fixed dogmas) can fill these requirements for different in-

dividuals. Hence the necessity for the Unitarian Church and the freedom it assures to those who dare to stand upon their own feet and consciously assume the responsibility of their own spiritual evolution and their consequent duty as helpers in the upward progress of humanity."

Several recognize that the problem of what religion is is a difficult and unsettled one, saying: "I do not know what religion is. This means, what does the average person know about religion?" "That subject is too big for this space."

II.

What do you as an individual most need from religion at this time?

The answers to the second question are even more difficult to interpret than the first and similarly we shall for the most part let them tell their own story. That there is an intellectual need in the congregation is shown by answers which vary from a desire for a frankly educational mission with lectures to that need which seeks its understanding charged with "spiritual" inspiration. Thus, one says simply "Education," another needs "A distinct departure from the older theology even as to forms of service if possible. A liberal, almost radical, interpretation of world activity and progressive movements. A path to a church of free souls undominated by holy or sacred books."

The need of education for successful personal living is frequently expressed: "I desire instruction and guidance in proper living." *Understanding* is the word most often used, and then in connection with one's orientation towards all of life. "I need better outlook on life and understanding of human nature"; a better understanding of the spiritual life; an understanding of why we are here. Is it an accident? Purpose? or what? I want to know the purpose and meaning of life. Why do we live? What are we to attain by living? To give meaning and purpose to life and bring faith and understanding in my personal relationships.

Inspiration is another key word to the needs of various members: "I need spiritual inspiration," "Inspiration to do and live the worth-while things," "Inspiration," "I desire help in overcoming my weaknesses," "It should help me to gain faith and give me courage to face life more fully," "I need the help of a sympathetic feeling caused by a common sensing of a great urge," "Help to overcome the question that forms in the mind of what is the use of the whole thing? which comes in times of discouragement."

Several answers indicate that complex needs are felt. "I need inspiration, courage, and strength to meet the vicissitudes of life; social-mindedness, unselfishness; an assurance of my part in the onward and upward movement of humanity," or "I need a standard to live by and an ideal to strive for, the reassurance of spiritual gratification for well doing, comfort in trouble, and a definite idea of right and wrong or how to judge it." Or again, "Understanding, friends, peace, rest, knowledge." "Fellowship and the inspiration which always follows."

Others pass the question by: "This is a puzzle to me," "Too complicated to put in a paragraph," "I need nothing," "I am not conscious of any outstanding need," "Other than an occasional inspiration I know of nothing that so-called 'religion' has which common sense and consideration for others cannot give." "Another question people can't answer because they can't analyze," "I need nothing personally." The interpretation of these answers which show no personal religious needs is difficult. Some appear self-sufficient or satisfied, others apparently have not gone into their real motives for being in the church. In at least one case the member thinks of the church as an unfit and impotent instrument of religion.

Only three of the replies refer specifically to God. One, from a recent convert from orthodoxy, says, "I feel the need of devotional services in which music and some ritual play an important part. I cannot help longing for a consciousness of a communion with a God who is felt to be a universal Father." Another writes, "In the two lines of thought (or rather decision) now developing within the Unitarian denomination—viz., Humanism and Theism—I am inclined to align myself with the latter." A third questionnaire apparently is from that type of Unitarian who has come into the movement through preaching or literature of the Unitarian church which allowed the five points of James Freeman Clarke to be taken over as stereotyped substitute for a creed. This member needs, "To hear about the Fatherhood of God—Brotherhood of Man—Salvation by Character—Progress of Mankind and Leadership of Jesus." Freedom of speech would be limited by this member to the preaching of "Unitarianism," presumably as defined by these tenets.

III.

How do you feel that our church can minister better to your needs? To the community?

The replies to this third question show a fairly general feeling that the church has an educational mission. "It can minister to the community through education." "The church can minister to the community by being an educational center and a close social group more by just sitting around and talking things over the coffee cups than in any other way." One writes, "By a better and faster intellectual growth." One critic of the more or less academic introduction that had then been made to the year's program in the Sunday evening discussion group had this suggestion answered during its subsequent session: "The discussion group could help the community more if the topics discussed and the leader would get down to earth a little more and discuss things of more concrete and vital a nature." Another, who needs no personal help, says that our contribution is through our ethical Sunday school.

A general tendency was to feel that the church members should probe their own wounds a bit and make themselves more adequate instruments of putting the liberal message across to the community: "We can serve better by an understanding that there are personal needs (e. g., for sympathy, common loyalties) and by showing the community that we have a great vision and a great purpose." "We could minister better by a greater manifestation of interest and moral responsibility among the members towards the church and its activities, and less of indifference to financial distress," "by greater enthusiasm in the cause, more loyalty to the church; by attending its services more regularly." The feeling among several was that with more members we could do our entire work better and be freed from the burden that is placed on the members of a small institution merely to keep it going. This apparently was more than a "success" philosophy which

worships mere numbers, but one which recognized that too small a group is ineffective.

That the church lacks somewhat in its social life is indicated several times. "Our church seems a little impersonal," one writes. Another says, "Our church could be more effective through a closer friendship with its members." A third, "By furnishing a place and a program for a richer social life."

A few of the replies to this question were rather unique. The member who expressed the need for theistic services writes, "Though it may not be possible now, I should like to have someday a more devotional service earlier Sunday morning than the regular service. I feel it would meet the needs of quite a group! For the larger church with a mixed following this suggestion might be practicable. The three questions dealt with thus far when compared with the answers to the specific questions to be dealt with below show that there is in the church a group which desires more inspiration, shorter sermons, ritual. By what corresponds to early mass a theistic minority could be provided for. One member writes, "I am getting just about what I wanted from the church; that's why I joined." He is satisfied but others are not. The only solution, apparently, is to have various activities which meet the needs of different liberals in different ways, a thing that might be achieved in a larger church.

Certain answers to this question brought forth an interesting fact. The three replies which call for a less educational and more inspirational type of sermon all qualify the principle, stated elsewhere in the questionnaire, that "Our church should supply complete freedom of speech to its minister and freedom of judgment to the hearers." Thus a reply which states that the church could minister better "By providing more inspiration and less intellectual fact" is "doubtful" about the freedom. A reply which would "have talks more of the sermon type and less of the lecture type," writes of freedom "but the minister must show great discretion in selecting his subjects and must cater more to the wants and needs of listeners than to own desires." The reply also states that the supplying of emotional stimulus and renewal must not be overdone. Finally a reply says "Sermons of a less scholarly and of more practical spiritual appeal might attract and interest many warm-hearted people who lack the education to follow discourses of a more literary nature. The majority of people have not had a college education and the 'tired business man' and worn housewife sometimes seek a helpful sermon rather than a lecture. True, such sermons would not interest all of the present constituents." The writer of this discriminating answer says of the freedom of the pulpit, "freedom of speech needs to be somewhat restricted owing to the chance of complete misinterpretation by the unacquainted with the development of the liberal movement. Some background is essential for understanding of progressive movements."

IV.

Specific affirmations as follows were dealt with:

1. *"Religion is a way of living and not of believing."* True—19. False—2. "Both" 2.

2. *"The church should change its methods to meet the changing needs of its members and of the community."* True—24, False—0.

3. *"The church stands for ideals of brotherhood, beauty, and intellectual honesty which should be applied by its members to their every day life as workers and citizens."* True—23, False—0.

4. *"It is the function of the church to supply emotional stimulus and renewal."* True—16, False—6. Qualifications: "It is *one function*"; "Not in our church"; in one case the word "Emotional" was questioned and the word "spiritual" preferred.

5. *"Our church should supply complete freedom of speech to its minister and of judgment to its hearers."* True—20, Qualified—3 (as referred to already).

6. *"The liberal sermon should include facts as well as inspiration that our attitudes may be built up intelligently."* True—23, False—0.

7. *"Our adult education program is a distinct contribution to the life of the community.* (e. g. our Sunday evening service)." True—24, False—0. Qualifications: "I hope it is." "Sometimes too scientific for the ordinary citizen."

8. *"We should not sing hymns or repeat liturgies we do not believe in literally."* True—16, False—3. Qualifications: "A certain poetic license is allowable." "Why not, if they offer emotional stimulus," "True for liturgies—in hymns we might miss great inspiration," "Not particularly harmful."

9. *"Our church fills a unique and necessary place in our community."* True—16, False—0. Qualifications: "Open to question," "That's a question," "It *should*," "It certainly must," "I hope it does," "It ought to, but it can't now."

V.

Concerning the Church Service

A set of questions were asked concerning the technique of our church activities. The following discoveries were made by the minister:

1. That the replies were three to one for dropping responsive readings. They were discontinued.

2. That about the same number thought forty minutes not too long for the sermon. Nine thought twelve-ten too late to end the services and thirteen thought it all right. Qualifications: "Thirty minutes will be more effective than forty for some people"; "Forty minutes all right if the service is over by twelve." This situation was met by using the time formerly given to responsive readings for the sermon. With a shortened service the entire meeting could be brought to a conclusion by twelve in most cases.

3. The question was asked, "Do you favor the method now being introduced in some churches of having the sermon come before the services?" One said "Yes" and fifteen said "No," with these qualifications: "If you do, we can try anything once"; "No objections to trying."

4. It was discovered that the situation as to music was decidedly painful to most members of the congregation. The desire was expressed for instrumental music particularly. There is no organ or choir. The temporary solution was to find a few well known and well liked hymns and stick to them, and to engage an occasional soloist.

VI.

Conclusions

The outstanding conclusion of the minister was that a more varied group of attitudes could hardly be associated. In doctrine their needs vary from extreme rationalism, through a more sympathetic humanism and liberal theism to the "Fivepoint" theism of the old school Unitarian. Ritualistically the needs vary from the person who wants "Classical music and a lecture" to the one who wants a minimum of preaching and a maximum of liturgy. The minister's task is a delicate one of meeting the needs of all as best he can and especially of promoting that understanding and tolerance which will make it possible for people to exercise a give and take. This spirit was illustrated by one pronounced theist who upheld the principle of religious

liberty and, moreover, has continued his active co-operation and support under a humanistic regime.

That such responses are helpful to the minister seeking seriously to gain a sympathetic understanding of the people he is trying to serve is obvious. With him, if he be a true servant, it is not a question of meeting one need or the other, but of endeavoring to do all that he can honestly and sincerely do to serve both. His ability will be limited by matters of sincerity. He must not "hide honor in necessity." But it will be limited also by practical considerations. It *is* his task to be the reconciler of people and within the limits of honor to make such concessions as are called for. Like the statesman, he has his minority problems and the way in which he deals with them will be one test of his liberality.

Certainly the remarks as to the qualifications of freedom are pertinent to the work of every free church leader and contain much food for thought. Apparently they are from people who are aware of the practical difficulty of meeting the needs of such a varied group, as the replies disclose. What is not shown is *how* freedom of speech is to be limited. The principle of religious liberty is based upon the assumption of good judgment on the part of the possessor of that liberty. In calling a man to its pulpit a free church assumes that the leader possesses the training and taste, consideration and practical wisdom necessary to the right use of the freedom given him. The effort to control the pulpit in any other way is bound to bring a sacrifice that is more vital to our tradition than anything that might be gained in terms of practical institutional success.

The minister was gratified with the discrimination shown by the answers to this questionnaire. Their united "no" on certain points showed they were not merely "yes" members. Their united "yes" showed that in all their diversity there is a real unity of principle existing. Whether the specific questions he asked helped to suggest some answers to the general ones cannot be determined, but in any case it was a useful exercise to stimulate thought and bring unity upon basic issues. It is also significant that thirty-five persons, approximately a third of the active membership, returned answers to a rather difficult inquiry.

EDWIN H. WILSON.

The Study Table

What Has Biology to Say Today?

In this age of rapidly multiplying "popularizations" of science, sometimes written by authors whose knowledge of the subjects discussed might be greatly improved by profounder study, it is important that the interested public should be aided in its choice of books by a committee of experts in the various domains of science. Such a committee is the newly formed Scientific Book of the Month Club, which has selected for recommendation this latest work* by Dr. Jennings, professor of zoology and director of the zoological laboratory of Johns Hopkins University.

Even those readers, however, whose interests incline more to sociological than to purely scientific problems will find in "The Biological Basis of Human Nature" a highly important source of information. Dr. Jennings has set for himself the task of answering in non-technical language the question: What has biology to say that is of interest to men, not as zoologists or botanists, but as human beings? What has biology to contribute to the understanding of our lives and of the world in which we dwell?

By this the author means such practical questions, concerning alike parents, legislators, social workers, criminologists, jurists, physicians, psychologists, and sociologists, as the role of environment in determining the characteristics of individuals; the relative importance of heredity and environment in relation to the physical and physiological characters and to mental and moral traits; the biological basis of marriage and the family; the consequences of racial mixture; the inheritance of acquired characters; and "environment and the future of the race."

None of these exigent problems can be discussed intelligently without at least some elementary knowledge of genetics (the science of heredity) and of experimental embryology and zoology. Would that more of our citizens—especially in the twenty-three states where the initiative and referendum makes the inhabitants direct makers of their own laws—understood this obvious fact. The results of ignorance in such matters may be seen, for example, in Arkansas, where the people voted in 1928 to make the teaching by scientists of anything contrary to the biology of the Book of Genesis a crime.

Unfortunately, the very practical social and moral problems which cry most loudly for a realistic solution, as distinguished from dogmatic assumptions, require at least some acquaintance with the results of modern experimental biology and genetics. But genetics deals with chromosomes, genes, and their multiform relationships and behavior. And inasmuch as genetics is a new science, the dictionaries of as recently as fifteen years ago do not afford adequate help toward an understanding of such terms as these, introduced by necessity during the past few years. Professor Jennings defines these new terms in easily understandable language, despite the fact that the vocabulary of genetics has grown with the rapid advance of the experimentally established facts of hereditary and environmental influence. The terminology of genetics, like that of psychoanalysis, must become familiar to all educated readers. There is no possible way by which the modern problems of evolution, heredity, and environment can be discussed intelligently today without at least a certain minimum use of such technical phrases of genetics as "Mendelian heredity," "sex-linked inheritance," etc.

Recognizing this fact, Professor Jennings devotes his first five chapters to a popular summarization of the biological foundations for the practical problems dealt with in later chapters. To some impatient readers, who seek ready *verbal* solutions of all problems of life and mind and social structure, these chapters may be somewhat tedious, though they will not be to any

*The Biological Basis of Human Nature. By H. S. Jennings. Published by W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. $4.

real student. However, the lay reader who is fatigued by such close attention may turn to any one of the discussions which follow. Soon he will find himself turning back to refer to the earlier explanatory and foundational chapters.

Dr. Jennings himself says that his thirteenth chapter, "Biology and Selves," is "speculative . . . it stands by itself." He also tells us that the three final chapters are devoted to aspects of the problem of evolutionary change. Two of them are. But the last chapter, in which mechanism and "emergent evolution" are discussed, hardly falls within this category. The present reviewer is morally obligated to say that, although he values the previous fifteen chapters as among the most important and interesting that it has ever been his privilege to read, he must admit that he fails to find in the concluding chapter anything that adds to the value of all that goes before. On the contrary, there is much in it that will be, to many readers, provocative to adverse criticism. Professor Jennings as a scientific philosopher is not equivalent to Professor Jennings as one of the foremost biologists of the world.

But one chapter, good or bad, is of little or no importance in comparison with the entire bulk of one of the best and most up-to-date works on biology and human nature in existence.

The book is fully indexed, contains fifty-one very helpful illustrations, and each chapter is followed by adequate notes and references.

MAYNARD SHIPLEY.

Trumpets on New Horizons

Buddha

I would set Buddha at the hub of city streets:
Stone Buddha with stone sleeves
More folded than the wings of any bird.
Repose—with inward-turning palms
Denying all that hands have learned to do;
Even the rocketing towers
With blue sky singing through triumphant windows,
Even the silver-feathered planes
That circle ceaselessly and never sleep.
Eves that see not, ears that have never heard,
And lips more tightly sealed
Than are the sealed buds of the yellow lotus.

I would set Buddha here—
A torch for Chaos
Under the gold paws of dark mastadons.

MILDRED FOWLER FIELD.

This Age of Steel

I cry against this age of steel
That crushes the spirit under heel,
Where the soul is lonely and the mind
Grasps cruel wisdom of a kind
To sow the dragon's teeth of pain
On human flesh and human brain.

What wise men ever can refute
The thin veneer that hides the brute?
What are our battleships and guns
But relics of the savage ones,
From whose pure, lusty loins we trace
The genesis of every race?

Pitiful age, proud of its towers,
Proud of its industry that flowers
Like weeds along the road of those
Whose heavy days begin and close
By drab machinery that toils
For those few lords that reap the spoils.

Pitiful age, your doom is sure.
Your shame shall not for long endure.
Justice and peace will yet be won
By our undaunted unison.

SYLVIA HILL.

To Him Who Knows

There is no riddle to him who knows—
The flight of a bird, the wind that blows
The scent of the violet far and near,
To him who knows, is simple and clear.

The beauty of a passing day
With its duties and toil along the way,
Reveals to him the reason of life,
The growth, the conquest, the hope and strife.

He gives to all his unmeasured soul;
Nor doubts nor questions the ultimate goal.
His faith in his brother is complete;
He needs no praise of the world at his feet.

Love ever whispers to him who knows,
In the fall of a leaf, the birth of a rose.
He watches the changeless law unfold
With the cry of a child, or man grown old.

MARIE FALCONER.

Correspondence

Military Training

Editor of UNITY:

The excellent brief item on "Military Training Hard Hit" in UNITY of October 6, reprinted from the *Nation*, recalled to my mind a bit of information relating to military training in New Zealand that came in a letter from there last August. I pass it along to readers of UNITY, taking it for granted that they are all of the peace-minded class and will consequently rejoice to know about the cessation of such training in any land.

The Honorable Secretary of the New Zealand branch of the War Resisters International at Christchurch wrote that compulsory military training had been suspended for a year, owing to the pressure that had been brought to bear upon the government by the War Resisters who had been carrying on an active campaign against it for a long time. If this fact has been previously stated in a publication of some peace society or journal, I have not seen it. The secretary hoped that, after a year without military training, the government would never re-establish it, both on account of the expense and because public opinion would have increased against it to such an extent that the people would refuse to sanction it.

Every indication in any land of the rising tide of popular sentiment against any form of militarism is a virtual promise of more and greater expression in the near future. In spite of the military training now carried on in our higher institutions of learning, with all the lure of sex appeal now resorted to and the sentimentality connected with an age-old custom, the *Nation* is undoubtedly correct in its assumption that that training is losing favor. It seems to me that the steady growth of the sentiment for peace among the more serious class of students overbalances the militaristic element. For one thing, the annual prize essay contest of the Seabury sisters is continually stimulating inquiry and study. No one who undertakes to participate in that contest can fail to become a pacifist of the uncompromising type.

So, although our government is not yet ready to try the experiment that New Zealand is trying, there is hope in sight. A prominent professor in one of our foremost colleges, William Lyon Phelps, has written: "War is a

The Field

"The world is my country,
to do good is my Religion."

Sir Rabindranath Tagore on India

To the Editor of The New York *Times*:

I cannot allow to remain uncontradicted some misstatements of my view about the present Indian problem in the report of the interview with me which has appeared in your paper of this morning's issue. Let it definitely be known that according to me it is the opportunity for self-government itself which gives training for self-government, and not foreign subjection, and that an appearance of peace superficially maintained from outside can never lead to real peace, which can only be attained through an inevitable period of suffering and struggle.

Gandhi's Birthday Celebrated

On the evening of October 2nd last, which marked the sixty-first birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, a company of Americans and Indians held a dinner in honor of the great Indian leader at the Town Hall in New York City.

Reverend John Haynes Holmes presided as toastmaster. The principal address of the occasion was given by Mr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, a friend and student of Gandhi, who accompanied him on the famous march to Dandi, and who has just now come to this country to serve the Indian cause. Other speakers included Dr. J. T. Sunderland, editorial contributor to UNITY, and author of "India in Bondage"; Mrs. Jane S. Bryan, who has recently returned to this country after a visit at Gandhi's Ashram, Mr. Syud Hossain, accomplished Indian lecturer and scholar; Mr. Basanta Koomer Roy, Editor of *The Oriental Press*; and Mr. C. F. Andrews, the famous Englishman who is Gandhi's dearest friend, and who has recently published in this country the two notable volumes, "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas," and "Gandhi's Own Story."

At the conclusion of the dinner, a resolution presented by Mr. Holmes, was unanimously passed and sent on to Gandhi in his prison cell. The resolution read:

"On the night of your sixty-first birthday, Americans and Indians in New York City have met in homage to your name and in support of your movement. We hail your beneficent statesmanship, your heroic example, and your loving spirit which shall in God's good time bring emancipation to your people and redemption to the larger world of men."

What I Saw in Canada

Touring Canada by automobile to study the liquor situation under government control is a very interesting and profitable way for a minister to spend his summer vacation. The things one may see with his own eyes as he motors and camps in Canada speak louder than statistics and the opinions of men. Abundant evidences are present everywhere that the people of Canada are in the grip and under the control of the liquor forces, whose one aim is to destroy the very principle of temperance and make every man, woman, and child a slave to the drink habit. In this the liquor interests are not content to stop with Canada, but by bootlegging and insidious propaganda they are seeking in every way possible to make prohibition ineffective in the United States.

Our Custom officials along the border are undoubtedly able and efficient men, but in spite of all they can do to enforce the law they are often outwitted by the professional law-breakers. A man on his return from Canada who had just passed inspection at the United States customs office, and who was a total stranger to me, took great pride, in the course of my conversation with him, in telling how easy it was for him to get by and bring back a quart or more into the States. The souvenir shops in Canada carry a large assortment of souvenir articles with inscrip-

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sentimental affair; that is why it is so difficult to abolish. War is opposed to the dictates of common sense, prudence, rationality, and wisdom. But the sentiments of man and the passions of man and the instincts of man are deeper, more elemental, and more primitive than his intelligence, knowledge, and reasoning powers. For intelligence and morality belong to man alone; his instincts he shares with the entire animal creation. The pacifists are realists; the militarists are sentimentalists."

Between peace-minded professors and sensible young people seeking facts and turning more and more from traditionary influences, military training, even in the United States, will be hit too many hard blows to survive long.

LYDIA G. WENTWORTH.

Brookline, Mass.

The Presidential Paradox

(After reading an account of Mr. Hoover's speech in Chicago *Tribune*, October 8th)

Editor of UNITY:

Herbert Hoover, standing on the sacred soil of South Carolina, which for one hundred and fifty years has been soaked in the blood and sweat of American martyrs, from the King's Mountain soldiers to the Gastonia strikers, closed his eyes and shook his fists before the last fifty years of heroism.

Is not this violent attack of Mr. Hoover's on the dangers of radicalism merely one more conclusive instance of the blind backwardness of political and economic thinking today?

Immersed in a civilization of aeroplanes, frigidaires, and Movietone Follies, we still mouth lovingly the comfortable old linguistics of tradition, which perhaps serve as compensation for the mechanized shrieks of our every-day life. Nourished on these great traditions of freedom and dynamic liberalism, we still apply them only to principles which were achieved in the century before last. Living in a day of such issues as unemployment, underconsumption, and international anarchy, we use the magnificent rhetoric of democracy and brotherhood to demonstrate Nordic superiority. President Hoover, in his speech on the battlefield of South Carolina, in which he invoked the spirit of the martyrs of one era against the martyrs of another, has joined Mayor Thompson and the ranks of those who use the literature and language of yesterday's rebellion to suppress the challenge of today, or excite themselves over the outworn issues of one hundred years ago in order to evade the quiveringly alive problems of the contemporary social order.

President Hoover seems to have been specializing in *clichés* for the much-needed salvation of our prosperous nation recently. On the one hand he condemns labor revolutionists in the name of the American Revolution. On the other hand, he solves the gigantic problem of proportionally-increasing technological unemployment by suggesting a few more legislative regulations. Perhaps America's President will never realize that a law cannot successfully substitute for a job, nor can verbal assurances of security fill the awful emptiness in the pit of a starving man's stomach.

In the Chicago loop there is a wide park where the foodless, jobless, and homeless, congregate to enjoy their one luxury—sleep. Someone has called this place the Hoover Hotel, and the name seems to stick.

ALICE HAMBURGER.

Chicago, Illinois.

Mother Jones and Mr. Rockefeller

Editor of UNITY:

In your issue for August 4, Sydney Strong writes: "It will be well for the American people to study closely the parable of Mother Jones and Mr. Rockefeller—or, How to solve the problem of the hired cottage in Maryland and the palace in Tarrytown. The problem does not require anger, violence, but reason, patience and good temper."

It might help folks to remain good-tempered in considering the matter, if they realized that the situation is fundamentally rooted in the generally accepted custom (mentally upheld alike by rulers and ruled) of so fixing prices that a price is put on what is not human work. It should be plain to anyone that if what is not human work bears a price, some folk must work longer for others than the others work in return, for only so can anyone pay for what is not human work.

Just as long as the people (no matter of what present-day class) uphold the fixing of prices by results (according to supply and demand, skill, etc.), just so long will humanity be automatically divided into those who work longer for others than the others work in return, and those who do not work as long for others as the others work in return for them. Mother Jones tried to help the former, Mr. Rockefeller represents the latter.

Del Rosa, Calif. VAUGHN BACHMAN BROKAW.

tions that treat the whole idea of temperance as a huge joke. Comic postcards, picturing drinking scenes, drunkenness, and drunkards are on sale everywhere in Canada. The sale of these souvenirs and comic postcards is very large, and the chief customers are tourists from the States. It would seem that the wet propaganda through this medium alone is enough to break down, in the minds of many people, all serious regard for the cause of temperance.

We found drinking and drunkenness common in the Province of Quebec. The taverns with swinging doors, or "saloons," line many of the streets of the cities and are doing a big business. In the city of Quebec we counted thirteen taverns within three blocks of the railroad station and four or five restaurants serving drinks. I walked into a number of these saloons and found them well patronized by men, many of whom appeared to be well on the way to intoxication. It is a common sight to see drunken men coming out of these places and staggering along the streets. It seems that in Canada no one is arrested for drunkenness so long as he does not disturb the peace. One evening at the railroad station in the waiting room for men and women we saw a man dead drunk stretched out on one of the seats. His bottle was lying near him on one side with half of the contents on the floor of the waiting room. He was not disturbing the peace, and no one seemed to be disturbed by what was evidently a common sight to them. He lay there for hours in that condition and no officer came to take him away.

A saloon on a very prominent corner with a large patronage is making use of a little triangular park near by as a summer bedroom for its drunks, or at least the drunks seem to have taken possession of it for that purpose. We saw some of them go to bed late one evening when closing time for the saloon had come. One of them who used a newspaper for his mattress was especially noisy. The next morning before leaving the city we drove back there to take some snapshots. We found the noisy fellow sitting on a seat in the park with a number of his comrades. When the saloon opened at eight o'clock he was the first to enter. We snapped his picture as he walked from his "bedroom" to the entrance of the saloon. . . .

In Montreal the situation is fully as bad as in Quebec. . . . The most brilliantly illuminated signs, occupying the most conspicuous places along the main street of the city, are signs advertising the different brands of whiskey. A common sign to be seen in front of cabarets reads like this: "Beer and wine, dance and dine." Restaurants have long lists of beer, wine, ale, and whiskey on their menu cards from which one may choose in giving his order. They are permitted to serve any quantity of any kind of liquor to women as well as men. We witnessed some heavy drinking by men and women in restaurants.

Saloons are to be found everywhere in Montreal. . . . One saloon in particular, the Dry Dock Tavern, attracted our attention because of its location and because we had to pass it on our way to and from camp. This is an unusually large saloon, located on a very prominent corner near the outskirts of the city, where workmen by the hundreds wait to change and take trolleys on their way to and from work. The swinging doors of this saloon are kept open so that any one passing might look in. From about five o'clock, when men stop working, until late hours in the night this place is always full of men. It is the old story of the saloon robbing the mothers and babies by relieving the fathers of the pay-rolls as they come from work.

Under the Canadian system of government control each province has state rights, and consequently the liquor laws vary in each province. In Ontario there are no taverns and laws are more stringent. But Quebec is taking care of Ontario along the border line in matters of state rights. Ottawa, on the Ontario side of the river with Hull just across the river on the Quebec side, furnishes a good illustration of how state rights are working out in Canada. Ottawa is an exceptionally beautiful city, and the majority of the people there are very anxious to keep it a clean city. Hull is a manufacturing city with saloons on nearly every street. The people living in Ottawa only need to go over the bridge to get all they want to drink.

At the end of the bridge on the Quebec side there is a large saloon, called the Interprovincial Tavern, with free parking space for automobiles. We watched this place for an hour on Saturday evening. During that time there was a constant stream of automobiles from the Ontario side stopping at this saloon. In some instances men drove up with their wives and children and left them in the cars while they filled up on beer. Many fine looking young men drove up and went in to drink. One young man who could not have been more than sixteen years old, with a group of older men, came out in a drunken condition. A group of five men in a truck drove up, went in, and when they came out to leave three were so drunk that they were unable to stand up long without support. They constituted a striking and dangerous spectacle as they drove away across the bridge back into Ontario. The chief business of this saloon seems to be to debauch the people from across the river where drink is harder to get. Hull is enjoying state rights, but Ottawa is not. Ottawa is very largely forced to submit to the will of Hull in the matter of liquor control. . .

We find it very interesting to compare what we saw in Canada with what we saw last year on our trip to Texas when we camped in sixteen different states and visited many large cities. In some of these cities we walked the streets late at night, and neither there, nor in the tourist camps where we stopped, did we see signs of drinking and drunkenness. The only drunk we saw on that whole trip was late at night on one of the highways in Texas. In Canada there were signs of drinking and drunkenness at every tourist camp at which we stopped, while in the cities drunkenness was so common that we soon gave up trying to count the drunks. And yet there are leaders in our country today who strongly advocate the Canadian system of liquor control as an improvement upon prohibition for the promotion of temperance.

—*William F. Koonsen*

Zion's Herald

Good Will Congress

The International Good Will Congress of the World Alliance for International Friendship will hold its fifteenth annual meeting in Washington, D. C., November 10, 11 and 12. The Hon. Jacob Gould Schurman, former ambassador to Germany, is chairman of the program committee. Among the speakers will be President Hoover, Frank B. Kellogg, C. C. Wu, Alanson B. Houghton, Mary E. Woolley, James T. Shotwell, Judge Florence E. Allen, Parker T. Moon, Joseph Fort Newton, S. Parkes Cadman, and Col. Raymond Robins. The chief topics for consideration are "Reduction of Armaments," "The Permanent Court of International Justice," "Responsibility of the West for Peace Through Religion," "The Furtherance of International Peace Through Religion." For detailed information, write to Mr. Fred B. Smith, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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